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नमस्ते शारदा देवी कशमीर पुरवासिनी

ज्ञानं अन्नं

नीलमतम्

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About The Painting On The Cover

The painting depiction of Abhinavgupta, the great Yogin, Shaivacharya and polymath, is based on and according to the only existing pen-picture in Sanskrit verse. Madhuraj from Tamil Nadu (Madurai of the ancient times) happened to be one of the followers of Abhinavgupta who portrayed his Guru in a Sanskrit poetic composition titled –- *Gurunatha Paramarsha*.

While in Srinagar, it was in the year 1941 that I landed, through a friend and relative of mine, at the Ashram of great Shaivacharya and Yogi, Swami Laxman Joo at Ishber village near well known Nishat Bagh. Knowing very well my friend, Swamiji enquired from him about myself. After introducing me, he added that I was an artist (though being just a starter) which made me proud and gave vainglory to my false ego.On knowing that he wanted me to paint Abhinavgupta on the basis of, and according to the pen-picture composed by Madhuraj, I being foolish enough to take the adventure out of my false prestige.

Back home while floating in the mid-air of having become an artist, I started wasting frantically my efforts and bundles of paper and the materials but of no avail. Every effort repeatedly gave me severe blows of failure. This pathetic effort and performance went on weeks together till my egoistic and adventurist being felt humiliated and fell wounded like a bruised bird in the lowest levels of pain and self-abomination. My vainglory was shattered into smethreens and my false ego evaporated, leaving me free of all the misconception about my own self. I was humbled to dust and was left askance about my false belief. I brooded for days together and then I felt that I should take the first and the lowest clamber on this sky-rocketing ladder.

My pilgrimage came to full circle to land again at the door of Ishwar Ashram, from where I was tossed out – it is my absolute belief – to get myself humbled and shorn of ego.

Sedate, settled and transparent, one fine summer morning (1972) I entered the lush garden of the Ashram like a non-entity and reposed myself in the farthest corner behind the gathering. Not till the assembly thinned down, Swami ji located me and gestured to come near. A strange and submissive nearness overpowered me, diluting the vast period of years since I had the first of the personality.

What followed through the future course, was the mystique of constant nearness, experience and awakening, till one fine morning of late 1983 the same problem came up that was posed before me way back in 1941. I was to paint Abhinavgupta as depicted by Madhuraj in his Sanskrit composition. I humbly accepted the proposal, and then my long confinement followed. It was 1st of March, I surveyed the prospect in front of me, then a sedate smile of consumation. On 6th of March 1984, I enthusiastically gathered my courage to present the picture to Swamiji. He saw, then drifted to the deep reverie, then a faint smile. He stood up and exclaimed, Excellent Excellent!

He pulled me up – took me into a tight embrace! It was an experience of cosmic swirl, and then a constant ebb and flow —. The painting was installed in the temple of Amriteshver, and remains there installed till date.

- P. N. Kachru

THE CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIR TO INDIAN AESTHETICS

- P N Kachru

Aesthetics, as a subject, can be deemed an aspect of *critical appreciation* and of *criticism*; which forms an important and distinct part in itself in the study of literature. It is a misconcieved common belief that the term *criticism* and the subject in itself delves and deals in finding out the shortcomings and the weakness of *style*, *expression* and *composition* in literature and other fine arts.

In reality the subject involves the human faculty of observing, surveying, feeling and analysing the environment; and reacting emotionally to its convulsions, ferocity, glamour, grandeur and beauty of the phenomena.

Thus, it is this faculty of human *appreciation* or *critical* faculty that provokes the observer to fend for means and vehicles of expression. Thus the artist in him is aroused to express.

So, we might safely say that the *critic* in man is born first followed by the *artist* in him. Well-known critic of English literature, Walter Pater came to his firm conclusion that it is the critic who took birth prior to the artist. It is beyond any doubt that the frirst expression is provoked by the reaction to the environ and emotion therefrom. The very first poetic expression from the Vedic lore is the result of man's reaction to the mysteries and convulsions of his environs. His very observance of the various forces of nature put him askance and inquiry with his emotions as to which one he would pay obiessance[1]. Thus the first poetry came into being.

There is a big gap of 1300 years up to the first Indian aesthete Bharata who flourished sometime between first century to 200 AD. His *Natya Shastra* depicts the art ot *theatre* that involves many fine arts like poetry, rhetoric, dance, music, song, sculpture, painting, landscaping and, above all the *acting* that branches off into gesticulation, mimicry, pathos and soliloquy etc.

Since the appearance of first Vedic lores upto the times of Bharata the multi-dimensional aspects of culture and fine arts seem to have developed and accumulated in to a rich concoction. Particularly the conception and formation of theatre seems to have come of age with Bharata who took it up to give it the definite form after the influence and the knowledge of his comtemporaniety. The element of Greek culture and civilisation had already come in contact with the post-Vedic cultural ethos of India[2]. The culture of Greek ampitheatre must have got intermingled and intevowen in to the cultural fabrics of India that led to the concept of theatre as a medium of multi-artistic expression.

The first and the most ancient treatise that has come down to us is the *Natya Shastra*[3], which tradition attributes to Bharata. The *Shastra* is collection of rules and instructions for production and education of actors, where Drama is considered a form of synthesis between the visual and aural arts. Both these elements combine in order to arouse in the spectator easily a state of consciousness intuitively in the form of a juice, flavour or relish called *Rasa*. While tasting this *Rasa* the spectator is enchanted with its charm. This situation in the exact terms is Aesthetic experience, or the tasting this *Rasa* and getting immersed in it to the exclusion of all else. According to Bharata, this *Rasa* is born from the union of the play with the performance of the actors. This Flavour (*rasa*) is projected through the emotion (*bhaav*), its resultant or reaction (*anubhaav*) and by the passing and fleeting feeling and moods (*vyaabhicharibhaav*). Also by the stimulii caused by *characters* or by excitants (*vibhaav*). The *Rasa Sootra*[4] of Bharata awards a vital and central place to *Rasa* in his scheme of tenfold plays. All the elements in the play, viz. *plot, characterization, style, setting* and *acting* are to be governed by the dictates of *Rasa*.

The various moods and themes which are eight in number which could be the subject for *Rasas* in the theatrical performance, these eight *Rasas* or moods have been depicted by respective colours in the theatrical presentation. The Erotic feeling is depicted with Green, the

Comic with White, the Pathetic with Ash-grey, the Furious with Red, the Heroic with Orange, the Terrible with Black, the Repulsive with Dark-blue and the Marvellous with Yellow.

In the final analysis, it is the Bharata Muni who is considered the originator and founder of *Rasa Samprada*.

Bharata concerns himself mainly with the emotional value or import of the dramatic theme and its actual representation on the stage, so as to bring home this emotional aspect to the *enlightened spectators* in a very vivid and convincing manner.

Thus Bharat's account of *Rasa* is nothing but the emotional experience through which spectator's experience is essentially a pleasurable emotional experience through the *Drama* that presents a story dealing with human emotions and sentiments. Thus the total experience of plaesure that the spectator undergoes, which is a kind of a unique, homogeneous experience – and that is *Rasa*.

There is a big gap of three century's silence up to the time of Baamaha who seemed to have flourished sometime between 500 to 620 AD. Despite this vacuum one cannot stop imagining that there must have been a process towards the formation and evolution to the concept of aesthetics, of which Bharata laid the foundation. Baamaha the first commentator and aesthete after Bharata belonged to Kashmir, and the name of his father was Rakrilagomin who happened to be a Buddhist scholar, but his son Baamaha seemed to have adopted the non-Buddhistic faith of Kashmirian *Shaiva-Tantric* and *Shaakhtic* faith[5]. His was the age of transition when the Kashmirian Buddhism was on the path of disintegration. The powerful sway of *Shaakhtic* and *Tantric* faith had practically influenced and remoulded Buddhism to *Mahayana* cult in which the said Hinduistic cults had opened highways in to the faith which created an easy outflow towards the non-Buddhist cults of Kashmirian *Shaiva-Shaakhta* movement.

The decisive factor for downfall of Buddhism at that time (530 AD) was the tyranical sway of Mihirakula who annihilated Buddhists and their monastries, while posing a fanatic Hindu whose emblem was Bull and Trident with the slogan – *Jayatu Vrasa, Jayatu Vrasadvaja*[6]. He was an *Ephthalite* from the tribe of white Hun, from the southern shores of Caspian Sea, who ravaged the climes from Kabul to central India where he was defeated by Kings Baladitya and Yashodharman of Magdha. So, while retreating entered Kashmir (530 AD) where the King gave him shelter, but slaughtered him and then ravaged th land and its people.

So in the back-drop of this situation in which Baamaha lived, it seems quite definite that he had adopted the non-Buddhist faith; all the more this being the reason for his attention and attraction towards the non-Buddhist Aesthetics. After traversing a long gap from Bharata Muni who established the School of *Rasa* (*Rasa Sampradai*), it was Baamaha who made an addition to what Bharata founded. While diverting his attention to poetics Baamaha founded the movement of ornament and Embellishment (*Alankaara Sampradai*) in the art of Poetry. Besides his treatise on *chhand shastra* his main composition being *Kaavyalankar*, which comprises of six chapters of four hundred verses.

He pleads that the very charm of the utterance (speech) is its *curvaceousness*, its *sonority* and *obliqueness*; and these very elements are the ornament and embellishment of poetry. Even these elements can render a poem beautiful with whatever deficiencies; but all the same the poet should be highly selctive of the words and sounds, with which he should make a composition. The poetic qualities like *pleasantness* marked by exclusive usage of *soft* and *liquid* sounds and their combinations; vigour and *splendour*, and *lucidity* of style, are Baamaha's requisite qualities for poetic excellance. For him the element of *exaggeration* is essential element for creating *curvaceousness*; and *ornaments and embellishments* of poetry. The selectiveness of appropriate *audibility* in words and opposing the theorists of *explosive* and *bursting* expressions was his watch-word. Lastly, Baamaha did not lay any language restrictions for writing poetry,

while pleading for any medium – *Praakrit, Apahramsh* or *Sanskrit.*

·Bhatta Lollata thrived sometime between 658 and 683 AD during the reign of Pratapadity-II in Kashmir. He is the first commentator who elucidated the aesthetic delight (*Rasa*) propounded by Bharata. It appears that according to interpretation of Lollata, it is the emotion (*bhaav*), its reaction (*anubhaav*) and the resultant stimulii (*vibhaav*) that gives rise to passing moods (*vyaabhicharibhaav*), which operate on the sentiment (*sthaayin*) of the original *character* enacted by *actor* in a drama. Thus the necessity of the *actor's* identification with the role, without which his emotional experience (*rasa*) is impossible. As interpreted by him the *stimulants* (*vibhaavas*) are responsible for stirring up or arousing particular mental state of *sentiment* (*sthaayin*). This element of sentiment (*sthaayin*) is already in the subconscious mental sphere of the *character*, and it is called up by particular significant situation.

So, the exact position of *Rasa* according to Lollata boils down to the fact that *Rasa* is produced as a result of the combination of the *sentiment* (*sthaayin*) with the *stimulants* of a significant situation, its reaction on the *character* who is focus of the situation. So Rasa properly belongs to the *character* in question, and secondly to the *actor* playing the role because of his identification with the said character. While commenting on the role of *actor*, Lollata opines that it is primarily the emotions of the original *character* that the *actor* tries to convey to the *spectator*, and that the actor can achieve this only when he merges himself in the personality of the character. Lollata further emphasises the actor's skill and equipment, as much as his capacity to allow himself to be overwhelmed by his role, irrespective of personal circumstances, handicaps etc.

Lollata was the first among the extant commentators of the *Natya Shastra* to realise the importance of the *actor* in the process of *Rasa* and its gesticulation. His view of *Rasa* comes nearer to Bharata's own view than that *of any other* commentators.

·Bhatta Udhhatta happened to be the chairman in the court of Kashmiri King Jayapida[7], who ruled from 779 to 813 AD. His treatise on *ornament* and *embeliishment* (*kaavyalankarasarasangraha*) in poetic art is considered to be an important contribution to poetic aesthetics. His another aesthetic work titled *Baamaha Vivarna* is a detailed commentary on the concept of poetic *embellishment* propounded by sixth century aesthete Baamaha.

In his own treatise[8] Udhhatta has enunciated fourty-one catagories of *embellishment* which when applied can render beauty to the composition. To exemplify a few of them, he talks of *tautology* (*punarukatavabas*) – the art of repetetiveness, or using the same expression and meaning more than once but in different forms. In the hands of inexperienced the same element of ornament might result in unaesthecity. The poetic *copulation of words and expressions* in gender form can impart in a recipient the kind of pleasure that a couple gets in sexual consumation. The use of *compound allitration* (*cchikaanupraas*); the relation of a *precedence* or *figure of speech* (*dreshtaant*), and a *hybrid* word or expression (*sankar*) – all these elements are the lucid elements of the ornament.

In his commentary on the works of Baamaha, Udhhatta has clarified and expanded the concepts of the ornament contained in the *brimming of Relish* (*rasavat*) or juiciness, the concept of the beauty of *mundane* (*preyi*) – pleasures, the element of *vigour* (*oorjasvi*) and the *pregnancy* and *containedness* (*samahit*) in art of Poesy.

·Bhatta Vaaman happened to be the contemporary of Udhhatta and occupied a seat of a minister in the court of King Jayapida. He is known as the founder of School of *Stylists and methologists* (*reetisampradaaya*). In his writing titled *Kaavyalankara Sutra* he emphasises that the very soul of poetry is *method and style* (*reetivaatma kaavyase*). Contrary to the concept of Udhhatta, he makes a distinction between the elements of *quality, attribute* (*appropriate-ness*) and the *ornament* or *embellishment.*

·Some of the well known writers who contributed the best commentries on the aesthetic works of their predecessors, are Rajanak Tilak and Jayaratha.

Rajanaka Tilak wrote a commentary on the works[9] of Baamaha, and also a *judgement* (*vivek*) on the works of Udhhatta. Jayaratha, though an important Shaivaacharya of Kashmir, also commented on the art of embellishment in his *Vimarshini.*

·Rudratta Bhatta happened to be an early contemporary (825-875 AD) of Anandvardhan and Shankuka Bhatta. His other name (pen name) was Shataananda, and the name of his father was Vaamak Bhatta. He did contribute and extend the number of categories in the art of Embellishment through his compositon titled *Kaavyalankaar.* He has added four more ways of ornamentation to the stock; by giving expression to the *actual* through selective words; by *excessive* additions, by *agnomens* and cognomens (ornaments), even by exploiting *nicknames* and by usage of selective *surnames.*

·Shri Sankuka specially tried to account and stress for the spectator's role in the process of *Rasa.* Contrary to the opinion of Lolatta, Sankuka opines that *Rasa* results from the *actor's* skillful *imitation* of the *character.* The *actor* cannot *become* the *character*, but only can *imitate* the one. The actor playing the role of lord Rama can't become Rama but can only associate with the character and its qualities and attributes. But so far as the play itself is concerned, here it is not *sthaayin* the origin of *Rasa* belonging to the character in his play. Nor does the apprehension or realisation of *Rasa* belong to the character as Lollata maintains. The *sthaayin* that produces *Rasa* belongs to the actor; and it is of the nature of the imitation of the *sthaayin* etc. of the *character.* But in case of the *actor* they are not natural but acquired. However, a skillful actor displays them so convincingly that they are felt by the spectator as absolute natural. Thus, actor is the most crucial factor in the process of *Rasa.* The transitory feelings like doubt, eagerness, anxiety etc. are also enacted by the actor on the strength of his emotional reactions as acquired. Thus, the whole setting of the significant emotional situation is ready for the spectator, who apprehends it primarily on the strength of the *actor's* imitation of the character's sentiment. Thus the *sthaayin* of the character being imitated by the *actor* leads to *Rasa.* But Sri Sankuka further maintains that, the apprehension that the *spectator* gets is of the identification of the *actor* with the *character*, but with the difference to the *spectator* that in dipiction he is not seeing the *Horse*, but its *look-like*, or its picture. It is *real* as a picture, but *unreal* as a living creature. It is neither totally true nor totally false. It is neither away from truth nor from falsehood. It is a parallel thing – a look-like or a *semblance.*

Secondly, Shankuka criticises Lollata's assertion, and declares that there are no valid grounds to infer the existence of the *Lasting mood* (*sthaayin*) that gives *Rasa*, as long as it does not come into contact with Vibhaavas. Conjoined with them the *sthaayin* might turn into the *Rasa*; and its existence can be inferred on the basis of *Vibhaavas* etc. otherwise how can the existence of the *sthaayin* be inferred before the conjunction of the vibhaavas etc.?

·Anandvardhan as an aesthete holds a position of colossus in the field of Sanskrit literature. This is a path breaking contribution towards the exploration of the mystique of beauty that shows its glimpse but remains to tautalise and too immersed into unexpressable and in silence.

In his opinion, for the appreciation of literature, *Rasa* or *communicated sensibility* is the deciding factor and *Dhvani* or the richness of *undertones* of suggestiveness, is the soul of Poetry. He, therefore pronounces that the *Rasa-Dhvani* (*suggestive sentiment*) is the most rewarding height of all the peaks of Sanskrit treatises on *Poetics.* The Poetry to him is a dart that pierces life where it is most sensitive and seeks to pluck the heart of the mystery of life. What one sees of life is actually the veil of Appearance, which one penetrates to touch the hidden centre – the Mystery of It. The poet simply uses words in a metrical order to convey something of the Mystery – the deeper significance – of Life. But words too are mere appearance, therefore words

have to be so charged with significant *undertones* that the poet be able to convey through appearances the reality that lies behind them. The poet's inspiration even has to be turned into such a currency of language that it can become Poetry, akin to a 'mystic incantation allied to prayer", which leaps over the physical boundaries or the coils of intellectual cognition and then the meaning intended lodges directly in the reader's soul. Though the craft of poetry is the determining factor in composing a poem, yet without *soul quality* there can be no poem. *Dhvani* (*suggestiveness*) in poetry therfore, is really this *soul-quality* at once the excuse and the explanation of the rest. It is this *soul-quality*, the reality within, this *undertone of seminal seggestion* that constitutes the utter uniqueness of Poetry. Neither its story and its plot, unless seized in term of *universality*, can become poetic, nor until the verbal expression becomes *a new way*; and not until the communicated *sensibility* is so laden with the undertones of significance as to kindle the soul to a new awareness of life's deep magic.

Anandvardhan pronounced that Poetry is a means of cultivating the *double vision* so that one may be enable to percieve the visible and invade the invisible. He instructs that marks the immediate contours of *Appearance*, yet peer beyond them and glimpse the very image of slendorous *Reality*. The *Semantics*, according to him, is one of the chief vehicles that renders the beauty of suggestion to poetry. He distinguishes between two well-known usage of language: i.e. the use of language outside poetry, and the usage exclusive to poetry. The first usage is a gift of convention and this is within the reach of everyone who knows the language. The second is the indirect use of language wherein the meaning may be either *metaphorical* or *implicit*. But this implicit language again is used as a jumping ground to convey an entirely new meaning which is different not only in degree but in kind also. This third meaning which is unique and exclusive in Poetry is characterised as the *essence of poetry*; and has its parallels in other fine arts as well. This leads Anandvardhan to interpret the *essence* as *Alankarya* in his treatise *Dhwanyaloka*. Thus he distinguishes between the *Alankaara* (*ornamentation*) and *Alankarya* (*the object of ornamentation*). The element of *Dhvani* is complete in the element of poetic ornament only when the object of ornament is depicted; may be an ideal, an emotion, an imagination or a visualised personification. So the differentiation of poetry, and other arts cannot be rendered precise until it can mark off the boundaries of poetic language from the other uses of language. It is his contention that only *Dhvani* theory can logically explain all the facts of Poetic process to the satisfaction of the *creative poet* on the one hand and the appreciative *critic* on the other.

Rasa (*relish*) is first and foremost an aesthetic canon. It is that, which initially inspires the poet into creativity and ultimately ensures the aesthetic delight of the *critic*. *Impersonal*, selfless and *universal delight* is exclusive to poetry and termed *Rasa*, which forms the corner stone in the arch of *Dhvani*. In short, *Dhvani* is the quintessence of Poetry; and *Rasa* is quintessence of *Dhvani*. Then Anandvardhan questions, what then is *Dhvani*? He instantly answers: *Dhvani* is an exclusive poetic feature concerned with exploiting the beauty of every element in the medium of language like *alankaara*, *guna* (*quality*) and *reeti* (*method, practise, style*), to serve the ultimate artistic end of *Rasa*. In other words, *Dhvani* is the *name of the whole poetic process*. It is *that meaning* in poetry which is appreciated by the critic as most beautiful, *knowingly or unknowingly*. The conveyance of the meaning appropriately even can be through impreciseness and inventiveness of words and expressions. He considers *Rasa* as a form of *resonance* or *suggestive sound*, evoked but not expressed, which he calls *Dhvani*. To this quality or power of evocation, as opposed to expression, he names it *Dhvanyavyaapaara*, which cannot be distinguished or signified, and is outside the domain of language, in the sense that the passage from the perception of words up to the perception of *Rasa* is so rapid as to be imperceptible.

Mukul Bhatta lived in the beginning years of tenth century, who was the son of Bhatta Kallata the famous philosopher of Kashmir *Shaivism*. He was the pupil of Vasugupta the founder of Spanda-Shashtra branch of Kashmir Shaiva philosophy. Contrary to this

lineage Mukul Bhatta chose the way of the *Meemamsik* (*argumentative*) philosophy; and consequently became a strong opponent of the concept of suggestiveness (*vyanjanaa*) in poetry. He vehemently objected to the concept of Anandvardhan, and his *Dhvani*, thus denying its role of ornament and embellishment (*alankaara*). He flouted its resultants like the poetic elements of beauty, allitration and the sound echoing sense.

In his treatise *Abidhavratimatrica* he laid stress on two types of words employed in a poetic composition – the *main* that makes a statement of a fact, and the *implied* that signifies, hints at, insinuates, that introduces gradually or subtly, convey indirectly or hint at obliquely.

Bhatta Tauta, genius in aesthetics flourished in second half of tenth century. He also happened to be the teacher in aesthetics to Abhinavgupta the gratest Aacharya and spiritual ideologue of Kashmir *Shaiva* philosophy. Tauta ignored the cult of sapless logic and cult of orgumentation of *Meemamsiks* propagated by his immediate predecessor Mukul Bhatta. He in his *Kaavyakantuka* propagated the concept of *Dhvani*, and supported the *Rasa Sampradai* while giving prime place to *Shanta Rasa*[10], as its fruit is *Liberation* (*parmapurushaarthaa, moksha*).

Bhatta Tauta shatters the concept of Shankuka that the established (*sthaayin*) feeling of *Rasa* belongs to the actor and thus is the *imitation* of the original (*sthaayin*). He argues that *Rasa* as a *sentiment* of a charcter cannot be imitated as it is a mental state, and on the other hand actors acting (*gestures and movements etc.*) are purely physical and material, percieved by different senses, therefore belonging to a different substratum – that of the *actor*. Further, he argues that imitation of an object is apprehended on the basis of self-same object as it is in reality. Nobody has previously apprehended the sentiment of love belonging to Rama, Krishna, Radha, Dushyanta and Shakuntala, as the sentiment and its nature is vested in the *character* only – and that too in a strange secret form. He questions, how the imitations are apprehended by the *spectator*? Are these to him artificial in his perception. They cannot be but artificial, as he is fully conscious of the situation. Therefore how can *imitation* lead to the *Real*? Thus it is said to be a far cry that actors imitation of character's sentiment leads to *Rasa*. The actor might give expression to various moods like that of *anger*, but in this sense he conveys the mood only and not the element of anger or furious as *Rasa* – the *Raudra*. Thus, Tauta completely rules out the possibility of *Rasa* being the *actor's* imitation of the character's sentiment from the point of view of the spectator's apprehension.

In the field of Poetics, Bhatta Tauta lays down the excellence and beauty of Poetry on the concept of *Rasa-Dhvani* – the *aesthetic suggestion* propounded by Anandvardhan. His chief vehicle for the attainment of the excellence of suggestive beauty, is the *brilliance of imagination* (*pratibha*) of the poet as well as of the reader. This (*pratibha*) is the force which makes possible the magical conversion of the passion into *Rasa*, freeing them thus of time and space. His *Kaavyakantuka* notes that brilliance of imagination (*pratibha*) is the mystic contagion that transports the reader all at once; and its gift to the poet is divine.

It is for the first time that in the history of Poetics, (*pratibha*) or the creative imagination has been linked with suggestion (*dhvani*), it being the superiority in a poem.

It is obvious to conclude that Bhatta Tauta has obliterated the distinction between mistique divinity of *Pratibha* and *Rasa*.

Bhatta Nayaka flourished in Kashmir during the reign of Shankaravarman (900 AD). He was a philosopher and an adept of Kashmir Shaiva system, who further interpreted the *Pratibha-Rasa* leading to *Aananda* in the state of *Sattva*, and total exclusion from *Rajas* and *Tamas* states of existence. Thus he totally was diametrically different than the concepts of what Bhatta Lollata and Shankuka put forth. Bhatta Nayaka says that aesthetic experience does not depend either upon the intensification or upon the imitation of state of mind. These two theories put forward respectively by Bhatta Lollata and Bhatta Shankuka, are not enough to justify the special nature of aesthetic

experience. The essence of *Rasa*, he says, is a pleasure which has no relationship with any particular ego. The aesthetic state of experience – whether its material is anger, love, pain etc. – does not insert itself into the texture of everyday life but is seen and lived in complete independence of any individual interest. The images contemplated on the stage or read in poetry are seen by the spectator independently of any relationship with his ordinary life or with the life of the actor or of the hero of the play or poem and appear, therefore, ina generalised (*saadharanikrta*) way. That is to say, universally and free of individuality. This state of generality, implies the elimination of any measure of time and space. Further this universality of the aesthetic experience, which Bhatta Nayaka discovered, was accepted and elaborated upon by Abhinavagupta. He (*nayaka*) propounds that in poetic expression, *words* possess three powers (*vyaapaara*): the first is the ordinary power which they possess in prose as well, the power of *denotation* (*abhidaa*), through this words denote certain object; the second, which is proper to poetry, is the power of *revelation* (*bhaavanaa*) or of revealing *Rasa* through the sense manifested, but not expressed. To him *Rasa* is the essence of Poetry. *Rasa* is not percieved but enjoyed. The third is the power of making the spectator or reader enjoy a fruition (*bhogikarana*) of the *Rasa* which has been revealed. He says if poetic expression possessed only the power of denotation, there would not be the least difference between poetry and ordinary expression.

Bhatta Nayaka was the first to associate aesthetic experience with mystical experience. To him, the aesthetic state of consciousness is not associated with limited '*I*'; as during the aesthetic experience the subject is completely absorbed in the object contemplated, and the whole of the reality which surrounds him disappears from his view. In this sense, aesthetic experience is similar to experience of the *Absolute* or of the *Brahman*.

The period of Nayaka (ending tenth century) was the time when the philosophic introspection had come of age; leaving behind the pre-christian centuries (2500 BC) of Heliolateric and Harrapan Burzhom culture and the culture of Nagas. Despite the massive annihilation of Buddhists by tyrannical epthalite Mihirakula, the *Boddhic* thought layed its deep impact on the prevelant ritualist *Tantric* thought, and was impregnated further. Here-in lie the basic seeds which flowered in *Krama Tantricism* that became the foundation of Kashmir Shaivik thought; and was initially impregnated by *Natha-Sampradai*. Later on giving rise to *Shaivagamas* and then the golden age of Shaivacharyas and philosophers like Vasugupta, Kallata, Somananda, Utpalla and a host of luminaries.

It was under the impact of such a back-drop the Bhatta Nayaka thrived and nourished himself with the mystic philosophy of his predecessors. It profoudly layed the impact on his aesthetic argumentations, which were further strengthened by the prophetic, inspirational and authentic aesthetic theories established by the great seer and genius Abhinavaguptapad. He re-interupted, explained, and expanded the concept of *Rasa* or the aesthetic experience. To him *Rasa* is not a thing itself formed previous to the act of consciousness by which it is percieved, but the consciousness itself (and therefore the *perception*) which, freed from external interference and from all practical desires, becomes aesthetic consciousness. Therefore *Rasa* is pleasure, beatitude, rest and lysis. The aesthetic consciousness has no end outside itself. It is completely self-sufficient and is therefore rest and bliss. The aesthetic experience necessarily demands extinction of every practical desire and of pragmatic demands. It is characterised by disinterested and impersonal pleasure. It is a self knowing perception which is percieved by mind or inner sense in a form of inner rhythm, a movement (*spanda*) of pleasure, pain etc; and therefore, is not of a discurcive order. Even the pain (and other forms of taste) in women, when bitten and scratched by their lovers, find in the pain itself the fulfillment, the realisation of their desire. They rest in consciousness to the exclusion of everything else. Therefore this pain is pleasure, beatitude. This becomes *pain* only when the consciousness finds no rest in what it contemplates, is not totally absorbed in the object of contemplation.

Bharata enunciates that emotion (*bhaava*) make the poetic contents a matter of apprehension or contemplation for the reader or spectator. But Abhinava comments that this poetic content itself is *Rasa*; and it is only the competent and qualified reader (*adhikaarin*) who relishes and whose heart is illumined by the flash of bright and pure inspiration when he (the reader) reads a fine verse, he initially apprehends the meaning of the words of the stanza. Then there arises in him an apprehension of the nature of mental visualisation, completely divorced from the distinctions of time and space by that particular verse or stanza. Even the frightening and fearful emotional contents, in such a situation, does not have any source of fright, but reveals the *emotion of fearful* which is only the fear, but untained by space and time etc. hence it is distinct from apprehension like *'I am afraid", "he is afraid"* or "he is an enemy" etc. as these apprehensions are beset with obstacles. The poetic fear, on the other hand, is apprehended without any obstacles of limited sense, as if it directly enters the heart, or as if it moves before our very eyes. In such a kind of fear the self of the reader is neither totally obliterated nor particularly involved. Hence the *generalisation of the apprehension* is not limited, but extended or widened.

This realisation of *Rasa*, on theatre, is nourished and reinforced by the dramatic accessories like actors, dialogues, oratory, costume, music and setting etc. by virtue of these accessories, the restricting conditions like space, time, the knower etc. cancel each other and totally disappear, paving the way for the generalisation or universalization of the emotion. Hence it is that the homogeneity of the apprehension of all the spectators lead to the highest nourishment or heightening of the emotion, all of them possessing the minds coloured by sublinimal impressions, and hence their harmony. This apprehension of *Rasa*, free from all obstructions, is itself the relish or delectation – *the Chamatkaara*. This delectation is further described by Abhinavagupta as an uninterrupted, ceaseless enjoyment, bereft of all feeling of insatiety. He explains the term *chamatkaara* as the process which posits an enjoyer with the throbbing, the pulsating of a mysterious kind of enjoyment. It may be described as having the nature of a mental apprehension resembling vivid realisation of the self, or contemplation, or memory not operating in its usual form, viz requiring a prior experience.

To sum up, *Rasa* or aesthetic emotion is nothing but the *Bhaava* itself, consisting entirely of relish or delectation, and is the object of an apprehension totally free from obstructions.

There can be obstacles to the apprehension of *Rasa*. According to Abhinava there can be seven-fold psychic obstacles in achieving this realisation. The first obstacle can be the spectator's incapacity for apprehension. He may be unable to sustain his consciousness in the object of apprehension; particularly the reader's and spectator's ability of delineation of emotions, feelings etc. which can be beyond the scope of the average reader's or observer's imagination and sensibility.

The second obstacle can be the absence of aesthetic relation between the dramatic situation and the spectator. The obstacle may arise from the fact that the spectator identifies various drmamtic feelings with himself and therefore fails to relish *Rasa* itself.

The third obstacle can be the spectator's over-absorption with his own personal feelings. To soften this obstacle the performance is accompanied and included with music and dance. So the entertainment is required to be both visible and audible.

The fourth and fifth obstacles are the defect in the means of apprehension and the absence of clarity.

The sixth hindrance can be the absence of rendering the prominance to the established (*sthaayin*) and lasting situations of the play.

The seventh obstruction can occur due to the rise of doubt or uncertainity to the exact nature of *sthaayin* in an emotional situation.

Abhinavagupta had achieved the fantastic heights of spirituality, philosophy and yoga; not only that, he proved to be the ultimate prophetic

authority on Aesthetics. Thus he possessed the singularity of having achieved the title of Bhairava – Lord Shiva himself. He is considered to be one of the chief representatives of the religions speculation, thought and rhetoric. His most important works in these fields are:

a) *The Tantraloka* (13 vols.), a vast encyclopedia in verses dealing with the concepts and rites of the *Shaiva* schools;

b) *Ishwarpratibijnya Vivrati Vimarshini*, a detailed commentary to the *Teeka* of Utpaladeva (his predecessor and great philosopher) on his own commentary;

c) *The Abhinavabharati*, a commentary on the *Natya Shastra* of Bharata; and

d) *The Dhvanyaalokalochan* a commentary on the *Dhvanyaaloka* of Anandvardhana.

His principle masters were Shambhunatha[11] in *Tantrism*, Lakshmanagupta[12] in philosophy and Bhatta Tauta in rhetoric.

In further elucidation and explanation to what Bhatta Naayaka had said about mystical and aesthetic consciousness, Abhinavagupta showed up clearly the boundary lines which separate the state of mystical consciousness from that of aesthetic consciousness. According to him religious experience marks the complete disappearence of all polarity, the annihilation of all opposites – sun and moon, night and day, beautiful and ugly etc. It is the lysis (dilution) of all relativity and bondage of space and time. All this is consumed in the ardent flame of consciousness. The yogin remains isolated in the compact solitude of his consciousness, far beyond any form of discursive thought. There exists a certain relationship between aesthetic and mystic experience according to Abhinava, but at the same time he reveals distinction between the two concepts.

In aesthetics experience, Abhinavagupta says, the feelings and the facts of everyday life, though transfigured, are always present; but despite that it is distinguished from any form of ordinary consciousness; and thus the aesthetic experience pervades in life, but is not at the same time of a discursive order. It is poised, away from the shackles of reason and orgumentation. As regards the content, it is nothing but ordinary life, purified and freed from every individual relationship. In other words Art is not absence of life. Every element of life appears in aesthetic experience by which life is pacified and detached from all passions. This experience is an inner or mental perception (*maanasapratyaksha*) and is percieved through the mind or inner sense; and such a perception is *self knowing*, the knowledge only through one's own inner self (*svasamvedanasiddha*). The mind of he who tastes must be equipoised (*ekaagra*), absorbed in the object of the tasting to the exclusion of all else, free of all obstacles and devoid of any other sensory perceptions. Thus one remains immersed in wonder (*chamatkaara*), set apart from any distinctions of *self* or the *other*. Likewise, when all the spectators are absorbed in the same theatrical situation, to the exclusion of all other things, the diversity ceases momentarily to exist, to the exclusion of the *other*, and give manifestaton of *unity* of the unlimited consciousness. Theatre, to Abhinava, is of many splendoured conglomerate of literary excellences of the theme and the various theatrical accessories. It is a creation which is self-sufficient and constitues a world in itself. By initiating the spectator into a very rich and significant experience, drama transports him to a new realm of magic and joy. The everyday world is not negated, but surpassed or transcended, and the world of drama is, in this sense, autonomous bound by its own laws.

Kshemendra was born in last quarter of tenth century AD; and that is how he was fortunate enough to be the intellectual disciple of the great polymath and yogi Abhinavagupta. Presumably those being the times of Abhinava's advanced stage of *Bhairavahood*, that Kshemendra could not have the oppurtunity of entering into realm of *Shaiva* philosophy and its mystique. Later on he took to the study of *Vaishnava* cult followed by his *Buddhist* studies.

So far as the aesthetics, *Rasa* and its blessedness is concerned he could not further contribute to what heights Abhinavagupta had raised this concept. Kshemendra, on the other hand devoted himself to the elements of the craft and technique of composing Poetry. His

instructions and guide-line for the craft of poetic compositions are precise, to the point and categoric[13].

He believes in the power of *incantation* – the elements of magical charm and spell – in the art of poetry; and then the incantation to *Saraswati*.

The three types of practitioners:

a) One who can be trained easily (*alpaprayatnasaadhya*),
b) One who needs some effort (*krcchrasaadhya*),
c) One who cannot be trained (*asaadhya*).

The first, for cultivating power, sholud learn under a man of letters; but he should not be the one who is not merely a logician and grammarian, but also must be an expert in the art of delicate and creative poetry. For cultivating the art, the absorption in various sentiments and the power of discernment is highly essential. The poet should keep his poetic spirit away from the unsavoury smell of the logician. It is a good practice to constitute the practice to start with imitation, and replacing the words and certain parts of the verses of the model poet for learning the art. The learner also can, for improving himself, compose his meters by putting together some words not giving meaning to a line or a sentence. The third (c) category includes a logician or a grammarian or any such other academic person uninformed, unrehearsed and unenlightened in the works of great poetry. To become a poet one should develop the poetic art of shadow-borrowing, imitating phraseology and taking some portions from other poets.

Thus equipped and trained, he should learn to inbibe glowing charm (*chamatkaara*). This charm, according to Kshemendra, is seven-fold: spontaneous, throughout, pervading the whole verse, appearing in a part of a verse, existing in word or meaning or in both, the figure of speech and the sentiment.

His concept of merits (*guna*) and demerits (*dosha*) in poetry:

The merits are threefold – *Shabda* (word), *Artha* (meaning) and *Rasa* (sentiment). His another treatise, *Suvrttatilakas*, in continuation to *Kavikanthabharana*, is continuation of the poetic craft which is devoted to the *prosody* and various metres in Sanskrit poetry. Most of the metres, amounting to twenty-eight categories have been left by him unexplained and unexamplified; perhaps these titles being known to the then Sanskrit-literaty. But some of them he has touched upon which can be safely tackled.

Kshemendra's outstanding contribution in literary criticism on art is his theory of *propriety*[14]. His theory of Propriety (*auchitya*) propagates that the soul of poetry is only *propriety*. He pronounced that if poetry possessed propriety then the other things like Alankaara etc. would not matter. The *Alankaaras* and *Gunaas* being only ornaments, cannot lend charm to a composition if it is devoid of propriety.

While applying the appropriate expression or the use of propriety in a poem, one should take its application to *word*, to *sentence*, to *drift or movement of a composition*, to *literary excellences, poetic figures of speech, sentiment, surroundings, substance* and in *peroration* (*summing up*) etc.

Kshemendra and his times:-

Kshemendra's birth can be placed in about 1020 AD during the rule of Sangramaraj. He seems to have lived and executed his literary activity through first three quarters of eleventh century. The details of his lineage are available from the name of his great great grandfather Narendra, who happened to be the minister to King Jayapeeda; the great grandfather was Bhogendra, grandfather Sindhu and father Prakashendra.

Unlike the rest of the chroniclers of Kashmir[15] Kshemendra's position stands appreciably unique in being an observer and portraitist of the Kashmirian people and the society. Amongst the rest of the chroniclers he stands like a stalwart and a towering beacon who has spread his light over the details of crumbling and degenerate society which reeled and orgyed in the mire of corrupt moralities, bawdhood, prostitution, deceit, gambling, official extortion of clerks, *Kaayasthas*, money lenders and

business professionals, physicians, priests and gamblers, and so on.

Prostitution had creeped deeply into the society. The harlots and bawds were open to rob the foolish and salacious people of their wealth. Even old harlots painted themselves young to prey upon the people. The bawd helps the harlot to carry on her profession smoothly. Voluptuaries, doomed to penury through a prostitute, are dragged out by bawds with ugly faces. The Gauda (Bengali) students studying in Kashmir, were demoralised due to their visits to prostitution. The exploits of Kalaavati the prostitute and the bawd Kankali have been dealt in detail. Their snares into the vitals of *Brahmanas*, teachers, physicians, merchants and singers. These heroins of lechery corrupted, by their indulgence, even the *Sangarams*, *Ashrams* and other institutions of morality and education[16].

Kaayasthas: Kshemendra states them to be utterly demoralised section of the society. He desperately tries to aspire for the post of revenue head, which provides innumerable chances of extraction and torture to the people. He tries to cover his ruthless acts by pretending to be the ardent devotee of Lord Shiva. He is always particular to bribe his superior officers. A *Kaayastha* was supposed to have essential qualifications of being merciless, egoistic, a liar and voracious; and one who lacked these, was sure to face dismissal. His attrocious acts are emptying the temples and villages of their valuables, slaughtering cows and robbing women of their clothes. As incharge of finance he presents a budget of fraudulent figures, and curtails the grants of villages and temples and fill his pockets, plundering commodities, confiscating property and demolition of houses to fill his coffers, thus fattening himself with rich food, but taking a little saltless and boiled *moong* in presence of his superior official. A forger of documents and deceitful writings and by removing a line would convert fullness into nothingness. His nights would pass in brothels, and in home he would turn a blind eye to the flirtations of his wife with other people[17].

Physicians, simply unqualified who play with lives of people by administering secret medicines with code names, and attracting women patients for their lewd desires.

Astrologers lured people with the jugglery of words, *Goldsmiths* by alloying the gold; *Merchants* like druggists, alchemists and street venders who traded with fantastic and adulterated articles like hair-growing and invigourating medicines and medicines for youthfulness and self beautification. Loitering *mendicants* who posed yogis and attracted women and lured both the sexes by advancing faked love-potions in order to win over their loved ones. The *widows* who lured the young men, Brahmans and ascetics by their inviting looks and provocative actions. They specially entrapped unmarried youths and took them to sacred places for indecent motives. Priests, singers, gamblers and misers – the list of Kshmemdra is long that it covers the total fabric of social life fraught with total degeneration. He was a social reformer who exposed the social evils of the society through his literary works.

Before proceeding to discuss the aesthetics who followed into the arena of art-criticism, it is imperative to comment on the works of Kshemendra who did not comment on and contribute to the propagation of the schools of *Alankaara* and *Rasa*, which were traditionally developed and beautified by great aesthetics who preceeded him. Instead he gave primacy to the craft of the composition of poetry by advising prospective poets on employment of meters and on the practice of propriety. But the cue of the tradition was again picked up by another prominent aesthete Mammata who lived during the last part of eleventh century.

The parentage of Mammata hails from the dynasty of scholars. The name of his father was Jayata who was a *Shaivachary*, and his another son (brother of Mammata) was Uvatta, who migrated to Ujjain where he became a courtier of Maharaja Bhoj. Uvatta wrote the treatise and commentary on *Shukla-Yajurveda*. Another brother, Kaiyatta wrote a major commentary on the works of Patanjali.

Mammata wrote an important work on aesthetics titled *Kaavya Prakash*, which became an outstanding treatise after the works by

Anandavardhana, Bhatta Naayaka and Abhinavagupta. His another treatise is *Shabdavyaapara Vichar*, but his *Kaavya Prakash* is an outstanding presentation.

Kaavya Prakash is composed in three parts –

a) Versified interpretation,
b) Commentary,
c) Illustration.

In part (a) the basic documentation is presented in the versified form; while in (b) part there appears a detailed commentary on the versified subject, and part (c) presents the examplication for what he has presented in the textual part with supportive examples of his previous aesthete authors. Where necessary, he has put his critical remarks on the works of his predecessors. Principles of Mammata for beliefs of life and the world:

- All efforts for creation being subservient to destiny and fate.
- All feelings enmeshed with elements of mirth, sorrow and attachment.
- Subservience to material causes and material ingredients.
- Presence of elements of acidity and bitterness.
- Feeling of detestability for all the impleasantness.

So, keeping in view the shackles of life, the poetic world and poetry should be free from the elements of fate, luck and fatality; but should be drenched in and permeated with Ananda, should be free (*swatantra*) and fraught with brilliance (*pratibha*). Pregnant with *Shringara* (elements of beauteous) and permeated with nine *Rasas*; and should be contained with embellishment and charm of poetic attributes.

According to Mammata the sole purpose of poetry is the attainment of Ananda; and with the relish of it, the reader and spectator becomes free from the viccitudes of existence and the shackles of physicality melt away. He terms this situation as lysis with the sweetheart for the recipient who is compassionate by nature.

He believes that the poetry is the composite of three elements – *the divine potence, expertness and practice, audibility* and *meaning* should be the watch and ward; and both should be flawless and pregnant with quality, ornament, embellishment and figure-of-speech. The *audibilty* is of three categories – *denoting, symbolic* and *suggestive.*

Mammata's immediate follower was Bhatta Kuntak who became the founder and propagator of *Vakrokte Sampradaya* – the movement for *curvaceousness, obliqueness and suggestiveness* in the poetic words and expressions. He felt that the *serpentine* formation and *lilting* words and *audibility* is the spirit of the poetry that transports. His treatise *Vakroktijeevit* is the main works devoted to his concept of ideal poetry. He was a strong supporter of the theory of *Dhvani* of Anandavardhan.

Rajanaka Ruyyaka flourished in the last quarter of eleventh century. He wrote the most authoritative treatise on the art of embellishment, *Alankaara Sarvasva*, in poetry; and wrote a treatise, *Kaavyaprakaasha Sanket*, a treatise on Mammata's *Kaavya Prakaash*; and also a treatise on the appreciation of compassionateness – *Sahrdayaleela* – for the study of poetry.

Rajanaka Mahima Bhata flourished in early twelfth century. He was a vehement opponent to the concept of *Dhvani Sidhanta* of Anadavardhan; but could not substantiate his conception through his treatise titled *Vyaktiviveka*. This poverty of intellect proved to be the precursor to the disarray of the proverbial Kashmiri genius and intellect.

At the inception of twelfth century there seemed no dirth of the literary stock excepting the aesthetes; but even the literary left-overs were in disarray and migrating from their seat of learning in search of greener pastures. The social decadance and degenartion already pictured by Kshemendra, had furhter degenerated, and had become alien and abhoring for an intellectual. This social crisis became further aggravated by the weakness of state ruling system. Weakling and inefficient rulers, the fractured monarchy scattered into feudal sectoral rulers, known in Kashmir as

Koota[18] *Rajas*, all this had added to the disarray of the well-integrated society.

However, to conclude the golden epoch of Kashmir Aesthetics, the fact remains unchallenged that the majority, I should say, the maximum number of aesthetes hailed from Kashmir who enriched and built the art of Indian Aesthetics.

Footnotes:

1. *Kasmai devaaya havisha videma...* etc.

2. Alexander invaded India in 326 BC, and stormed the climes of Taksasila (Taxila), Punjab up to the limits of river Beas. Retreating and wading his way through the Indus river, he left behind his garrisons and appointed Satraps to govern the territories. The Satraps who settled and ruled the divided territories were many governors like Hermaes and Eucracrides. Later on Apollodetus and Menender who turned a Buddhist.

Alexander's general Selucus from his territories sent his army under the command of Megasthenes, to invade across river Beas, but got a severe defeat at the hands of Chandragupta in the year 305 BC. The garrisons under the Satraps included the variegated cross-section of Greek cultural elements and civilisational hordes which intermingled with the Indian social and cultural ethos.

Even the famous general Megasthenes had matrimonial relation with Mauryan King; while later on Menender (Milind) converted himself to Buddhist faith.

3. Raniero Gnoli in his *Series Orientale* gives 4th or 5th century to the authorship of the *Shastra*.

4.
Vibhaavanubhaavvyabhicharisumyogatrasanishapati

5. Mammata, P.30, Sahitya Akademi; N.Delhi.

6. See Stein's Rajyatarangini, vol-I, Taranga one, page 43, footnote 289. also Buddhists of Kashmir – Jean Nadou, pages 4,5. The author (Stein) states that after having lost in Central India, Mihirakula was welcomed by the King of Kashmir, but the cruel Hephtalite assassinated his host, then attacked Gandhara where he destroyed all the (Buddhist) convents.

Samuel Beal, while writing about the travels of Huien-Tsang, states that Mihirakula while ravaging and annihilating totally the traces of Buddhism, was severely beaten and captured by King Baladitya of Magadha, and later on pardoned. Mihirakula, after release, retreated till he entered the valley of Kashmir and there killed the host (King) and annihilated Buddhists and ravaged their Sangramas, temples and the images. (Samuel Beal; Buddhist Records of the Western World; pages 167–172).

According to Huein-Tsang, Mihirakula while in Kashmir, "renewed his project of exterminating Buddhism, and with this view he caused the demolition of 1600 topes and monastries, and put to death nine million of lay adherants of Buddhism."

During his rule (530–550 AD) he practically exterminated Buddhism in Kashmir. During this programme of persecution he beheaded the 23rd and the last of the Buddhist patriarchs of Kashmir. (Yuan Chwang's Travels in India; Thomas Watters; pages: 289, 290)

7. Kalhan's Rajyatarangini: Taranga – 4, verse 495.

8. *Kaavyalankaarasara Sangraha*

9. *Kaavyalankaarasara Sangraha*

10. *Rasa* is the traditional term which designates the aesthetic state of consciousness. According to Bharata there are eight Rasas corresponding to eight principle feelings of human nature – Delight (*rati*), Laughter (*haasya*), Sorrow (*shoka*), Anger (*krodha*), Heroism (*utsaaha*), Fear (*bhaya*), Disgust (*jugupsa*), and Astonishment (*vismaya*).

These eight feelings are liable to become material for aesthetic experience, and the corresponding *Rasas* are: the Erotic (*shrangara*), the Comic (*haasya*), the Pathetic (*karuna*), the Furious (*randra*), the Heroic (*veera*), the Terrible (*bhayaanaka*), the Odious (*bhihatsa*), and the Marvellous (*adhbhutta*).

The later speculation generally admits a ninth *permanent* feeling or *Rasa*, seemingly by Kashmirian *Shaiva* philosophers, and that is Quietude (*shanta*).

11. The wall-potrait of Shambhunatha is existing on the right side wall of the *Shay* monastery in Ladakh. The *Tantric* seems to have failed to have laid a profound influence on Ladakh *Mahayana* system.

12. The disciple of Utpaladeva, the great Shaivacarya and the sanskrit Bhakta poet.

13. Kshemendra's *Kavikanthaabarana* and *Suvratatilaka* is entirely devoted to the craft for poetic composition.

14. *Aucityavicaaracarcaa*, a treatise, on the concept of propriety in poetry by Kshemendra, lends the author a position attained later only by the modern famous English critic Walter Pater.

15. All his predecessor chroniclers from Kalhana to Jonaraj, Shrivara, Pragybhatt and Shukka; even later chroniclers of Persian all have been sycophantic personalities attached to kings and rulers, about whom they have written and eulogized and narrated with pride their exploits and exploits of the warring lords.

16. Reference to *Deshopdesh, Narmamala, Kalaavilas.*

17. Go through *Samayamatrika, Brahat Katha Manjari.*

18. *Koot* is the changed expression *Kot*, meaning the exclosure or a small fortress.

REJUVENATION OF TEXTUAL RESEARCH : NEED OF THE DAY

- Onkar Kachru

What inspired me to take up this topic to write about was a stanza of a *Leela* (*Bhajan*) of one of our well-known Kashmiri *Bhakti* poet late Pandit Krishnajoo Razdan.

I came across a cassette containing a few of Krishnajoo Razdan's *Leelas* from his widely known works '*Shiv Parinai*' and '*Hari-Har Kalyan*'. A young talented Kashmiri singer Dhananjai Kaul has composed the music as well as sung the *Leelas* in his sweet melodious voice. The selection of these *Leelas* has been done by Shyam Lal Razdan[1].

But what puzzled me was one line of a Leela from *Krishna Vaeni*, entitled "करौं नमः शिवाय"[2] (Karav Namah Shivai). The line reads: "अधर्मियन सूँतिन, करौं नमः शिवाय"[3]. One may ask: what is puzling about these lines? To me it was so on two counts. One, "अधर्मियन सूँतिन जंगौं" – to wage war against irreligionist – I thought, could not be the vocabulary of a Bhakti poet of Krishnajoo Razdan's saintly demeanour. Neither is it the diction of his poetic works. Second, this feeling was reinforced by the fact that this whole line is printed on a strip in a different type face, which most probably was pasted there later. Moreover, while the whole said poem, rather the whole collection, is printed in bold, this particular line "अधर्मियन सूँतिन जंगौं करौं नमः शिवाय" is in light print, i.e. not in bold.

बड्यौ यूगौ सूँत्य सत्संगौ करौ नमः शिवाय

व्वतम पदौ तुं स्वदर भगो करौ नमः शिवाय

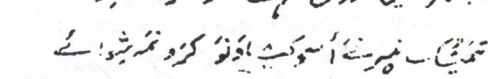
अधर्मियन सूँतिन जंगौ करौ नमः शिवाय।

अज़ तात्र यी वोंन महाजनौ करौ नमः शिवाय

तम्युक न्यरनय अॅस्य क्या वनौ करौ नमः शिवाय

Mark the underlined line and also the vocabulary.

To solve this so called puzzle and satisfy my curiosity – both led me to extend my search further. This search proved very fruitful. I consulted Som Nath 'Veer's edited 'Kuliyat-e-Krishnajoo Razdaan'[4] – a monumental work in Kashmiri language, comprising 608 pages and containing almost everything on the great Bhakti poet and his poetry. '*Kuliyat*' fuly removed my confusion and completely wipped off my doubt regarding the authenticity of the above mentioned line. This line was very much there in the *Kuliyat* too. (See underlined below)[5]:



My plea that the rejuvenation of our great tradition of textual study is the urgent need was strengthened when I came across a letter written by late scholar-educationist, Prof. P.N.Pushp to his friend late Pandit D.K.Kachroo. the theme of the letter, mainly focuses on the two well known *Vaakhs* of Lal Ded, their textual research and new interpretation. They ideally emphasize the relevance of the topic under discussion. Hence, the need to share the contents of the letter with all concerned. The letter is given on pg. 16.

If a scholar of Prof. P. N. Pushp's stature could feel the necessity of interpreting both the meaning and text of the said *Vaakhs*[6], then one can be sure that our slacened textual research work needs to be geared up again.

All this does not mean that I am floating any new or original idea. In fact, Kashmir has perhaps the finest tradition of research in history and literature. This great tradition including textual research, was nurtured and enriched by, both our indigenous as well as Europeans scholars. In this context, one cannot help but mention the great contribution of Dogra ruler Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Though unlettered, the Maharaja was farsighted in cultural affairs and has left a deep imprint on the socio-cultural canvas of the J&K State[7]. Not only the State

Delhi;
25.1.95.

My dear Daji Kak,

Thank you for your letter of Jan 18, '95. I wish I had known earlier about your 80th birthday on Nov. 15. I must hasten to felicitate you on the event. It certainly provides an occasion to look back and recollect bright moments despite the depressing dark of the recent decades. You have been an inspiring asset to the Community. And you have every reason to be proud of you.

As to the talk on Lal Ded, let me assure you, you have missed only the inconvenience. Since I spoke extempore I have no script with me. I would like, however, to share with you my concern about the textual variants. My study of manuscript material (mostly scraps) has, fortunately, enabled me to improve the situation in a number of cases. For instance, in the case of:

شۄ چھے تلہ تلہ روزان
مۄ زان یۄزُند تہ سُتان
تُرکھ چھُکھ تہ پان بنٕ پرزان
یۄ چھے صاحبس تۄچھ نٲزنٕ

I have arrived at the following version:

(Sun) شۄ چھے تلہ تلہ رۄ زان
مۄ زان یۄزُند تہ سُتان
(ray) تُرکھ چھُکھ پان بنٕ پرۄ زان
یۄ چھے صاحبس تۄچھ نٲزٕ زان

Had a bold metaphor worthy of Lal Ded had certainly was perceptive enough

Similarly, in the case of:

شۄ تیک ساوان کۄڈم پانس
تے للہ رۄزم نہ بۄژ تہ ہۄش
وٚیٚزے سپنس پانی پانس
اد کٔہ کلہ (کلے) چھۄل للہ پۄش

(The second line of the earlier Manuscripts was misread as کٔہ (miscalculating speech) as it was difficult to comprehend the popular belief that a lotus blooms in the mud (which in Kash. is rendered by کٔہ, later on replaced by کلہ by some other enthusiast). The enthusiast conveniently forgot that the word Lal represents a recurring motif in the Vakh, and approximately by rhymes with Lal as in

شۄ تیک ساوان کۄڈم پانس تے للہ رۄزم نہ بۄژ تہ ہۄش
وٚیٚزے سپنس پانے پانس اد کہ کلہ چھۄل للہ پۄش

Thus you see the difference.

Folios of the letter written by Prof. P. N. Pushp to Shri D. K. Kachru.

Exchequer extended financial support to all these creative activities, but the Maharaja himself contributed a sum of rupees one lac fifty thousand (Rs. 150,000) from his personal expenses[8]. In those days of scant revenue sources, this was a huge amount.

This great research tradition no doubt was and is being enriched even today by the institutions like J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages; Kashmiri Language Department of Kashmir University and to some extent Radio Kashmir[9]. If it is so, then what is the need or urgency of conducting textual research? Won't it be an exercise in futility? The answer is 'No'.

Cassette Revolution: The arrival of cassette in the market revolutionised the entire gamut of information and entertainment world.

It proved a great boon for Kashmiri music, singing, and particularly for Kashmiri Literature. Though Radio Kashmir had played its role in popularising Kashmiri muse and music, but the cassette technology played its historical role more vigorously. Many cassette companies mushroomed in the Valley. This phenomenon gave birth to scores of new singers who stormed the scene. They lent their melodious voices to the immortal *Vaakhs* and *Shrukhs* of Lal Ded and Nund Reshi, to lilting lyrics of Habba Khatoon and Arnimaal, soothing songs of Sufis, as well as devotional *Naats* and *Bhajans*. Even the romantic *ghazals* and poems with modern content found their honoured place in cassettes. Thus, the Kashmiri poets and singers became the household names in innumerable Kashmiri homes.

This enormously positive development, no doubt, played its historical role admirably, but it also gave rise to a negative development as well. By the end of the fourth quarter of the last century, the cassette production technology had assumed the form of a thriving small scale industry in the Kashmir Valley. It was in a hurry to reap as much profit as was possible, from this new found gold mine, and the mass production was the only way out. But because of this mass production the aesthetic and literary quality did not get the desired attention and suffered. There was one more reason for this drawback : the material – literary creations – were readily available in large numbers. Scores of old and young singers and composers were there for asking. Hence, there was hardly any time and will on the part of cassette (producing) companies or individuals to devote some time to the time consuming and difficult aspects like textual study, correct pronunciation of words, better quality of composing and rendering a song or a poem etc. This negligence has developed into a serious flaw and needs immediate corrective measures.

Keeping in view the role that cassette technology is playing in this field, it is imperative on the part of cassette companies and individuals who are in this field, to invest some portion of their earning to better their aesthetic performance. In other words it means that they should, jointly or individually form one or more nuclear research units, which can take care of finding the right text of a particular literary work (poem) and guide the rendering of the same with correct pronunciation etc. This type of direct contact between literateurs, musicians and cassette technologists could be highly beneficial for all concerned, including the very large number of Kashmiri listeners.

In this stupendous task, many a socio-cultural institutions and organisations that have come up in large numbers after the forced mass exodus of the minority community of the Kashmir Valley, in different parts of our country, could extend their helpful hand. Thus, they could help the great cause of textual research and matters connected with it.

I would like to end up this right up with the two line heading of a poem by a modern Kashmiri poetess, Aaisha Mastoor[10], '*Yim Kum Vih*' which does emphasize and justify the necessity of textual research of Kashmiri literature especially the few centuries old Kashmiri poetry. These lines are:

(ب)

یِم کم وِہ

ژٕے اے شاہ تے ژٕے اتھ داران

ژٕے اے نادان یِم کم وِہ (لل دیدؔ)

گاہ وتہٕ پدٕین موخت جوٚرٕ نم

ژٕھایِن نالہٕ مُتؔ کٚرٕی نم

Common and popular version of these two lines of Lal Ded's *Vaakh* is: *"Panai vuchh makh panas atha daaraan, chaeiaie naraan ta yim kum vih"*. Now which version is correct only textual research can decide.

Footnotes:

1. Shyam Lal Razdan has selected these *Leelas* for the said cassette from the two collections, entitled "शिवुय लग्गुन" (Shiva Lagan) and "कृष्णु वॉणी" (Krishna Vaeni) – both in Devanagri script. Both these collections have been edited by Shyam Lal Razdan himself. Third collection of Krishna Joo Razdan's Leelas, namely "कृष्णु दर्शन" also have been edited by Shyam Lal Razdan. All the three collections have been published by Lalit Stores, Mandir Market, Shastri Nagar, Jammu (Tawi). The cassette has been produced by Saakaar Films for Jammu & Kashmir Vichaar Manch.

The diacritical marks used in the Nagri script for the said three collections are confusing. Perhaps it is so because we have still not been able to standardise some of the peculiar sounds of Kashmiri language, though we have made enough progress in this field.

2. "कृष्णु वॉणी" ,p.49

3. Ibid.

4. Throughly and painstakingly edited by Som Nath 'Veer', *Kuliyat-e-Krishnajoo Razdaan*, is an ideal example of textual research. Published in 1984 by the J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, its well researched 'Zaan' (preface) spread over 55 pages, is an additional asset of this volume. A note from the publisher, Mohammad Yousuf Teng is also note worthy.

5. Ibid; p.440

6. – "शिव रूय थलि थलि रोऽान" This *Vaakh*, some scholars say does not belong to Lal Ded. A scholar-painter, Pt. P. N. Kachru, for instance, said in a seminar, that in the 1949-50 days of upheavel in Kashmir – of which he was an active perticipant – he saw a manuscript in Research Department (Lal Mandi) in which the said *Vaakh* is a *Shrukh* and belongs to Nund Reshi. So, this needs further probing (research).

I too have a doubt (in this regard) but for a different reason. I have not seen any *Vaakh* of Lal Ded in which she has used the word "हॉंद"(Hindu). She only uses either *Batta* or *Pandit*; the latter in her vocabulary mostly means the God. Hence, the scholar researchers have to find out the correct position.

7. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's government established the Research and Library Department of the State; established a network of *Pathshalas* and *Maktabs*, appointed Pandits, Head-Pandits and Maulvees (*Aakhoons*) and Head Maulvees to run them. He searched and consolidated a nucleus of Sanskrit and Persian scholars of his State; collected and brought from Varanasi and other centres of learning a huge number of rare manuscripts and books.

8. This information, based on the history of Sanskrit MS collection of the Maharaja Ranbir Singh Library, Jammu was provided by a young scholar friend, S.N.Pandita. The Library was first started by one Pandit Asanand.

9. Kashmiri journals like *Kong Posh*, *Neab* and *Vaad* – now defunct – also played their active role.

10. *Vuhimis Haetilis Manz, Kaeshiren Zanana Shaeren ta Kalamkaarun Hanza Takhleeqa* (1901 to 2000 AD); edited by Ghulam Nabi 'Aatish'; page 77; Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT: A FORE-RUNNER TO THE SHARADA MANUSCRIPTS.

AN APPRAISAL OF ITS DISCOVERY, SCRIPT, SCRIBES AND FEATURES.

- S. N. Pandita.

"It is a mortifying truth, and ought to teach the wisest of us humility, that many of the most valuable discoveries have been the result of the chance rather than of contemplation and of accident rather than of design". And indeed how truly, these words of Caleb C. Colton (1780-1832), a distinguished English writer, often quoted for his words of wisdom and pithy remarks, fit into the story that describes the discovery of one of the earliest antiquities found in Central Asia and known to us today by the famous name- Bower Manuscript.

Its discovery in 1890 A. D., in the words of Rudolf Hoernle, Superintendent, Government Printing, Archaeological Survey of India, (1893-1912 A. D.) "started the whole modern movement of the archaeological explorations of Eastern Turkestan and widened the scope of Indian philology and research". Subsequent assessment of the Bower manuscript, involving much hard work of great scholarship extending over more than 18 years between 1893 and 1912 resulted in adding considerably to our knowledge of Indian civilization and the predominant role it played in Asia at a very early period. As a result every student of Indian history and archaeology viewed the Bower Manuscript with piety as it traced various elements that contributed to the history of Central and Eastern Asia during long centuries.

From the point of view of Kashmir history, the Bower Manuscript bears a pre-eminent position in having been recognized as the fore-runner to Sharada manuscripts. But owing to its own history having faded from the memory of Kashmiris, it is important to recall some salient details of this important manuscript for the appreciation of the present generation of Kashmiris.

Strange, as though it may sound, the story of the Bower Manuscript is ever linked to the unraveling of a murder . Some time in early 1890 A. D. , a British Indian Army intelligence officer named Hamilton Bower while on a secret mission in Central Asia was ordered by the Indian government to track down the murderer of an innocent Scottish explorer named Andrew Dalgleish who was killed by Mohammed Daud- a burly Afghan from Yarkand . The act of murder was treacherous, so much so, that Dalgleish was first shot from behind and then hacked to death. Following the orders given by the government to catch the murderer, Bower with the help of his men began to track him as far as China, Afghanistan and Russia and even personally took upon himself the murder trail along the famous Silk Road. While it were the two of his agents who caught Daud Mohammed in a Samarkand bazar, Bower himself was destined to discover the manuscript now under discussion in the present paper.

The manuscript fell into the hands of this officer at Kucha, one of the principal oases settlements of Eastern Turkestan (of the four territories called 'Garrisons' the other three are Kashgar, Khotan and Karashahr) at the foot of Tian Shan Mountain Range on the northern border of Taklamakan Desert on the great carvan route to China. On his return journey to India, Bower took the manuscript to Simla. There, in September 1890 , he handed it over to J. Waterhouse, the then President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Waterhouse exhibited the manuscript to the Society in one of its monthly meetings on November 5, 1890 when a short Note, dated September 30, 1890, from Bower was also read to explain the circumstances of its discovery. After the important announcement was made, some attempts to read the manuscript and decipher its contents, however, proved to be unsuccessful.

At that time, the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Rudolf Hoernle was away to Europe and thus unaware of the discovery of the manuscript and the subsequent discussions about it that had taken place under the aegis of the Society. However, Hoernle first came to know about the discovery of the manuscript through a news dispatch he read in Bombay Gazette at Aden while on way to India . During the voyage on a steamer, Hoernle there met one gentleman

named W. B. Cumberland who happened to be a companion of Hamilton Bower when the latter had struck the discovery of the manuscript at Kucha. Hoernle thus collected some important and corroborative details about it from Cumberland. On reaching Calcutta in February 1891, Hoernle at once claimed the manuscript from Waterhouse. Soon thereafter some decipherment of the manuscript was made by Hoernle in April 1891. However, it was Georg Buhler having seen Hoernle's report, about the manuscript, announced its discovery in an issue of the Vienna Oriental Journal in 1891. This made the discovery public and known world wide and thereby attracted a universal attention.

The first to get attracted to the announcement was the Russian Archaeological Survey which in November 1891 requested its Consul General in Kashgar, Petrovski, to make efforts to acquire similar manuscripts from the region where Bower had struck his discovery. In response the Petrovski Collection was sent in 1892- 1893 to the Imperial Library in St Petersburg. Later in 1893- 1894 a report about them was published by Serge Oldenburg. In 1892 , the Weber Collection of manuscripts was obtained by F. Weber, a Moravian Missionary in Leh. He had acquired the same as a result of curiosity that was aroused in him following his meeting with Bower on the latter's return journey to India. Weber's manuscript collection was later purchased by Hoernle who following the acquisition published a report about it in 1893. These manuscripts subsequently passed into the possession of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in the year 1902.

In the same year, on Hoernle's recommendations, the Government of India issued instructions to its Political Agents in Kashmir, Ladhak and Kashgar to make efforts to secure all ancient manuscripts from the region which might come in their way. It was on account of these instructions that three more collections of manuscripts from the region came into Hoernle's hands, the most important of which were the Macartney Manuscripts so named after George Macartney ,the British Consul General at Kashgar who obtained them in 1895. A report about them too was published by Hoernle in 1897.At present this collection of the manuscripts continues to be in possession of the British Museum, London, where they were initially deposited in the year 1902.

The direct result of the discoveries of these manuscripts thus inspired Aurel Stein to embark on his first Central Asian expedition to Chinese Turkestan in 1900-1901, the results of which are too well known to us in the form of his report titled: Ancient Khotan published in 1907. It may however, be noted that prior to Stein's expedition, there had been numerous other expeditions in the region, the chief among which are the Russian Expeditions of General Prejevalski in 1879 and 1885, the British Expedition under Francis Younghusband in 1887- 1890, the French Expedition of M. Duteriul de Rhins in 1891- 1892 and the Swedish Expedition of Sven Hedin in 1894 -1897. But none of these was undertaken with the objective of archaeological explorations. These were as a matter of fact undertaken for scientific objectives such as geographical, geological and zoological.

The earliest details on the discovery of the Bower Manuscript are preserved in a Note, dated September 30, 1890, Hamilton Bower sent from Simla to Waterhouse while transmitting the manuscript to the Asiatic Society of Bengal . It reads :

" *While at Kuchar a man offered to show me a subterranean town, provided I would go there in the middle of the night, as he was frightened of getting into trouble with the Chinese, if it was known that he had taken an European there. I readily agreed, and we started off about midnight. The same man procured me a packet of old manuscripts written on birch bark.*"

Nearly two years later Hoernle sought some more details from Bower about the discovery. In response to the request made by Hoernle, Bower provided the same in a letter dated August 17, 1892 that he wrote to him from Kasauli. Bower wrote:

" *The story of the finding of the manuscripts is this. A man in Kuchar told me of the existence of an underground city, and said that he had gone there to dig for treasure a few days previously, but had only succeeded in finding*

what he called a book. I asked him to show it to me; and he went away, and came back bringing the manuscripts as it now is. He was anxious to sell it and I was very glad to pick up for a small sum what might prove of great value. I induced him to take me to the underground city; and he was frightened that he might get into trouble for taking a stranger there, we marched in the night. When day broke, we found ourselves amongst some low barren hills, and keeping on, came to the banks of a river, and there the hills were tunnelled by the streets of the ancient city."

Again three years later in 1895 ,Bower repeated his account in a paper he contributed to the Royal Geographical Society of London.

" At Kuchar, where I halted for several days, a Turki who had been in India, used to come and sit with me in my room in the Serai. One day in conversation, he told me about an ancient city, he knew of, built underground in the desert. I thought at first that he meant one of the ordinary buried cities of the Gobi desert; but he insisted that it was something quite different, and explained that it was underground by the wish of the people that made it, not by reason of a sandstorm. He told me also that he and one of his friends had gone there and dug for buried treasure, but had found nothing but a book. I asked to see it; and going away, he returned in about an hour, bringing some sheets of birch bark covered with writing in a Sanskritic character and held together by two boards. I bought them from him; and it was fortunate that I did so, as they have since excited a considerable amount of interest in the learned world. When I asked him to take me to this interesting place, he demurred a great deal, on the ground that people would kill him, if he took an European there; but at last he consented on condition that we went at night, so as not to be seen.. This I readily agreed to do; and starting at midnight, we marched steadily forward in a westerly direction. When daylight broke, we had left cultivation far behind, and were on the shoulders of a range of low gravelly hills, and away to the south a narrow strip of green with houses at intervals marked the course of a canal." The narrow strip of green cultivated land, and the houses belonged to a village called Faizabad.

As regards the Weber Manuscripts, we come across to the earliest reference of their discovery in a letter, dated June 21, 1892, Weber wrote to Hoernle from Leh in Ladhak. The original letter was written in German. Its translation prepared by Hoernle reads as follows:

"Two years ago I met here in Leh the traveller Captain Bower. He showed me an old book which he had found not far from Yarkand. I regret that I have never been able to learn anything about the age of that book; but in the meantime I have succeeded in getting hold of an undoubtedly very old book, which I venture to submit to you for critical examination. It was found the year before, not far from Kugiar on the border of Yarkand. Near the place, there is a house which apparently since immemorial times, is ruined and buried. Some merchants, hoping to find treasure, undertook with much trouble to excavate it , but found only the bodies of some cows which, on the first touch, crumbled into dust. On that occasion they found also the above mentioned book."

The house in which the Weber Manuscripts were reportedly found were based on an account in a Urdu letter, the contents of which were read to Weber by the person who had delivered the manuscripts to him. In a letter dated July 29, 1892, written from Leh , Weber informed Hoernle that the book he had transmitted to him was no more than three days in his hands before he had transmitted to him. In the letter Weber further wrote:

"As I received the book through an intermediary, the latter could not furnish me with exact information. He showed me a letter in Urdu , which however I could not read, written by the finder of the book, an Afghan merchant, in which the find-place and everything that I had reported in my previous letter was stated."

The identity of the intermediary as Munshi Ahmad Din and that of the Afghan merchant as Dildar Khan is disclosed in a letter George Macartney the then British, Consul General in Kashgar wrote to Sir Adelbret Talbot, then British Resident in Kashmir, from Kashgar on October 12, 1896 while forwarding his collection of manuscripts which bear his name- the

Macartney Manuscripts. The letter reads: "*This is a manuscript, presented by Dildar Khan, an Afghan merchant in Yarkand. It appears that when the Bower Manuscript was found in Kuchar, two others were at the same time and under the same circumstances discovered. Dildar Khan obtained possession of the latter, and took them to Leh in 1891. He gave one to Munshi Ahmad Din, who in turn presented his acquisition to Mr Weber , Moravian Missionary. Hence the origin of Weber Manuscripts. The other manuscript in Dildar Khan's possession was taken by him to India, and left with a friend of his in Aligarh, a certain Faiz Muhammed Khan. Dildar Khan brought it back to Turkestan last year (1895) and presented it to me.*"

From the above noted letter it is evident that the intermediary from whom Weber obtained his manuscripts was Munshi Ahmad Din and the Afghan merchant who sent them through the intermediary was Dildar Khan of Yarkand. According to Hoernle, the letter was written to Dildar Khan by his brother Ghulam Qadir Khan who sent the manuscripts and a portion of which found their way to Weber through Munshi Ahmad Din. The above detailed facts are preserved in an Urdu note which was obtained by George Macartney from Dildar Khan in January 1898 and passed on to Hoernle.

Dildar Khan's translated note reads as follows: "*I heard from my brother Ghulam Qadir Khan that there was a dome-like tower near Kuchar at the foot of a mountain. Some people said that there was a treasure in it ; it must be searched out. Accordingly, some people, making a hole in the tower, began to excavate it, when inside they found a room holding compartments and in it a cow and two foxes standing. In that place those two books were found enclosed in wooden boards.*"

The importance of these fact lies in this that the earliest details about the discoveries of the Weber and Macartney Manuscripts were made soon after their discovery in 1891 by a native informant in a letter written for the information ,not of any European inquirer ,but of his own brother. Sometime, in the same year, in November 1895 another more detailed information recorded in Urdu of the discovery and dispersion of the Macartney and Weber Manuscripts was obtained by S. H. Godfrey from Munshi Ahmad Din. This was based on the information given to him by Dildar Khan and the same was passed on by Godfrey to Hoernle.

According to Munshi Ahmad Din, "*Some years ago some people of Kuchar undertook to make an excavation of an ancient tower. Their object in digging into the tower was to find treasure, as it was well known that in the time of Yakub Beg much gold had been discovered in such ancient buildings. Whether or not they found any treasure is not known; but what they did find was a number of manuscripts and detached papers, together with the bodies of a cow and two foxes standing. The manuscript books and papers were taken to the house of the chief Qazi of the town, where a couple of days afterwards they were seen by Haji Ghulam Qadir heaped up in a corner, there being a big basket full of them. On enquiry, having been told the whole story by the Qazi, he brought a few of them. Of these he gave one to Lieutenant Bower while he sent the others to his younger brother Dildar Khan in Yarkand. These the latter took with him to Leh in 1891. Here he gave one portion to Ahmad Din, who in his turn gave it to Mr Weber. The other portion Dildar Khan took with him to India, where he left it with his friend in Aligarh. On a subsequent visit to India, in 1895, he re-took it from his friend and brought it back to Turkestan, and presented it to Mr. Macartney. What became of the rest of the manuscripts in the house of the Qazi is not exactly known. It is probable that Andijani merchants in Kuchar, who are Russian subjects, got hold of some of them, and gave them to Mr Petrovski, the Russian Consul General in Kashgar. As late as in 1894, ten manuscripts were reported by Dildar Khan on the information of his brother in Kuchar to be in possession of a certain Yusuf Beg. Unfortunately the negotiations set on foot by Mr. Macartney for the purchase of these manuscripts fell through, owing to the Beg's denial of possession from fear of the Chinese authorities. It is believed that Mr. Petrovski succeeded in purchasing them.*"

About the ten manuscripts mentioned in the above noted account of Munshi Ahmad Din, Hoernle requested Macartney for some more

clarification. In reply Macartney in November 1895 sent him the translation of the letter, dated December 7 ,1894 he had received from the Chinese Amban of Kuchar . This letter from the Amban reads as :

"*I have received your letter desiring me to enquire whether there are any sacred Tibetan manuscripts in the family of Timur Beg. I lost no time in summoning him. He stated that he had no such manuscripts, but that some people had several years ago (i. e. in 1891) dug some out from a big mound situated at the west of the city of Kuchar and almost about a mile from it, and as this took place a long time ago, the documents had either been sold or burnt. I also went in person to make an inspection of the mound which was about 100 feet in height and about the same dimension in circumference. I hired 25 men to dig under proper supervision. After two months work, they dug only a parcel of torn paper, and torn leaves with writing on them. I now forward this to you. If afterwards I discover any person possessing such manuscripts, I shall again communicate with you.*"

In the subsequent years a number of expeditions were made to Kuchar by the Japanese, German, Russian and the French. However, it was the French expedition under M. Pelliot that explored the sites from which the Bower, Weber, Petrovski and Macartney Manuscripts had been extracted by the native treasure seekers.

Pelliot visited the rock cut caves of Ming –oi at Qizil situated to the north-west of Kuchar on January 21, 1907. On his return en route he met a well educated Turki gentleman named Timur Beg from whom he obtained very valuable details about the discoveries of these manuscripts. The details of this information are contained in his letter dated January 29, 1907 that he sent to the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Letters. Informing the Academy , M. A. Barth read out the letter in one of the Academy's meetings held on March 22, 1907. The parts of the letter read as under:

"*From the time of my arrival at Kuchar, Berezovski had spoken to me about 250 bundles of Hindu manuscripts which had been found about a score of years ago, in the grand ruined stupa of Qutluq Urda, a little west of Kuchar. These books, Berezovski told me, had been distributed in a series of small receptacles built into the very brick core of the stupa; and some of them still remained in a certain Turki family which refused to sell them. Berezovski had this information from his man as he always called him a shady person, treasure seeker and a sorcerer on occasion, well acquainted with the country, but liar without an equal. I have caught him on several occasions, and as the places which were shown to me as the ancient receptacles of the book were little capable of ever containing anything, I was convinced that, even if the discovery was true at all events the informant, Mr Sherif had not been an eye witness of it.*

"*Until my meeting with Timur Beg it had seemed to me little probable that we should ever hear much more about the discovery. But while I was conversing with him, he spoke to me, of his own accord, of books which had been found some time ago by treasure seekers at Qutluq Urda. The treasure seekers, not knowing what to do with their booty, offered it to Timur Beg's uncle, Ghanizat Khoja, who was the headman of that part of the village. He , however, did not attach to the books any great value, and thus little by little, being torn by the children, and exposed to neglect, they all got lost. The idea occurred to me that possibly the Bower Manuscript was one of the manuscripts of Ghanizat Khan. I asked Timur Beg whether he ever heard of any of the bundles having been sold to a foriegner. He replied that he had heard say that one of the servants of his uncle had once taken one or two bundles and sold them to the Afghan Qadir Khan who had resold them to an Englishman. There is still at present day, at Kuchar, a Qadir Khan . Is he the same man? I do not know; for, as I believe I had understood from Timur Beg that Qadir Khan in question was dead. All that I wish to say is that the traditional version of the discovery of the Bower Manuscript can be received with a good deal of reserve, and that possibly the manuscript came from Qutluq Urda.*"

Two years later Pelliot sent some more information about the discovery of the Bower

Manuscript to Hoernle in a letter from Peking dated July 10, 1909. The letter states,

" *Unfortunately I have not come across any new date since the time I wrote to the Academy the letter you allude to. I am quite at loss to decide between the two versions I have collected for the discovery of the Bower Manuscript. It may just as well be true that they were unearthed in the cave Bower was shown to. But it seems a well established fact that an important manuscript-find was made in Qutluq Urda stupa sometime before the arrival of Captain Bower. I really can not say anything more.*"

Pelliot's conclusions about the discovery of the Bower Manuscript are also confirmed by a German explorer Von Le Coq who too visited the area in 1909.

In a letter dated October 9, 1909 to Hoernle ,writes Le Coq, "*That a very considerable find of manuscripts was made in a stupa in Kuchar appears to me to follow from the narration of the Russian Aqsaqal in Kuchar, Chal Muhammad. He showed me the pyramid-like structure near the town, north of the road to Qum Tura, from which, some 20 years ago, some people extracted the largest find of manuscripts, which, so far as I know, had ever been made. Possibly the Bower Manuscript was part of that find.*"

On the basis of the information contained in the above referred letters , it can safely be stated that Bower Manuscript was not found at Qutluq Urda in Kuchar but in a stupa at Qum Tura. From Bower's own narrative we know that he stayed for several days at Kucha and during his stay there was visited by a Turki man who gave him the manuscript and also guided him to the place of the find. Bower had started for the expedition about the midnight of the day on which the manuscript was brought to him by the Turki man. He reached the Qum Tura site at the day break of the next day and spent sometime there to examine the stupa that was reported to be the reservoir of his find. After examining the place , Bower went to Faizabad where he spent the night. Next day he enjoyed himself shooting wild ducks on the bank of the canal of Karshamba Bazar. From here Bower reached Shahyar township which he left on March 6, 1890 on way to arrive at Kuchar on April 1, 1890.

Bower actually received the manuscript on 2nd or 3rd March 1890 and since the Turki who had brought it to him had informed him that he had dug it out "a few days previously" confirms to us that the discovery of the Bower Manuscript must have occurred a few days prior to 2nd or 3rd March 1890, that is, on some day towards the close of the month of February 1890.

From the main story line connected to the discovery of the Kucha manuscripts called after the names of Bower, Macartney, Weber and Petrovski, we can conclude that in February 1890 the two Turkis of Kucha while searching for treasure dug into a stupa where they discovered a birch-bark manuscript which one of the two men on 2nd or 3rd March 1890 sold to Hamilton Bower. The success of this enterprise of making money soon suggested to a number of men of Kucha to attempt similar searches in adjoining stupas of the area. And actually 25 bundles of manuscripts were dug out. Each bundle was tied between two wooden boards and written in Sanskritic or Brahmi scripts which were however unknown to the finders. After these manuscripts were found they were taken to the house of the Qazi of Kuchar, a Turki named Ghanizat Khan- the uncle of the man called Timur Beg. In his house the manuscripts lay un-cared and hence suffered much injury and damage at the hands of children unmindful of their antiquarian worth.

In the meanwhile Bower having shown his find to Macartney and Petrovski in Kashgar and to Weber in Leh inspired these gentlemen to acquire similar finds and as a result they instructed their native sources and contact- men to be on the look out for similar discoveries. The presence of the bundles of manuscripts in the house of the Qazi soon became known to general public in Kuchar. Among others, the British and the Russian agents in the town came to hear of it and at once went to Qazi's house to secure some portions of the find for their patrons. The British agent – Qadir Khan , only after a few days of the discovery, brought from Qazi's house a few of them in two bundles by paying money to the servant of the Qazi. Of the manuscripts

thus obtained he sent these to his brother Dildar Khan who too was a British agent in Yarkand. Dildar Khan in the following year, 1892, sold one of the bundles to Weber through Munshi Ahmed Din and this bundle since then has come to be known as Weber Manuscripts. The other bundle Dildar Khan carried to India with the aim to sell it there, but having failed to do so brought it back in 1895 and later disposed it to Macartney in Kashgar and are since then termed as Macartney Manuscripts. Similarly the Russian agent, perhaps the man named Chal Muhammed secured another bundle which however were more damaged than the other manuscripts in the group transmitted them to Petrovski in Kashgar and have come to known as Petrovski Collection. As to what became of the remaining manuscripts in the Qazi's'house no certain information is available save that they were left utterly neglected and gradually got lost or destroyed. However some of the fragments found way into the hands of local and of these the few detached leaves came into the possession of Godfrey in 1895 through a Yarkand trader. This collection thus bears the name Godfrey Manuscripts.

The general truth of the native tradition as regards the condition of these manuscripts at the time of their discovery was that they were found more or less in good condition and properly ordered . Each manuscript was found tied between two boards and it was the ignorant neglect and careless treatment to which they were, according to Timur Beg, subjected in his uncle's house (Ghanizat Khan) that had caused the mix up of folios and portions. In fact among Weber and Macartney Manuscripts there actually were portions of manuscripts which formed Petrovski's Collection. Among the Macartney Manuscripts both the boards of a manuscript were well preserved while the manuscript itself was much damaged. This actually confirmed that its defective condition was the result of neglect it had suffered in the Qazi's house. Similarly the Bower Manuscript too was found enclosed between two boards. The dimensions of these manuscripts in general is not uniform. While the Bower Manuscript measures approximately 11 inches by 4 inches the Weber and Macartney Manuscripts measure 5 inches to 10 inches in length and their breadth varies from 2 to 5 inches.

Strictly speaking, the term ' Bower Manuscript' is not correct. The manuscript in fact is a combination of two manuscripts rather than a single one. And of the two manuscripts one is larger than the other. The larger manuscript itself is made up of six smaller manuscripts. Each manuscript of this complex portion bears separate page numbers. Therefore the Bower Manuscript is a collection of seven distinct manuscripts.

The external form of the collective Bower Manuscript is that of an Indian Pothi made of oblong shaped leaves of uniform size enclosed between two wooden boards. The leaves are held together by a string passing through a hole in the pile. Unfortunately no photograph of the Bower Manuscript was ever taken in the condition in which it was found or in which it was made over to Bower by the finder. Nor do we have any record in what condition it was received by Waterhouse in Calcutta in September 1890. However, when it came into the hands of Hoernle, the leaves were enclosed in two wooden boards and a string ran through the pile of the folios of the manuscript.

While examining the leaves, Hoernle loosed the string and found that the folios were not in proper order and several parts were mixed up. How they came into such a disorder is not known but in all likelihood they could not have been in haphazard state as the people who must have enshrined it to the stupa in all probability are believed to have been people of learning. Also it is believed that the leaves were not in a disordered manner when the manuscript was discovered by the finder. It therefore seems probable that from the time of its discovery it passed through at least four hands and all of whom might have cut or loosed the string to satisfy their curiosity to read the manuscript which however none could read.

One of the persons who handled the manuscript in early stages after its discovery was one Babu Sarat Chandra Das who had received the manuscript from Waterhouse for examination but had failed to decipher its writing.

Waterhouse himself also took photographs of two leaves of the manuscript before he handed it over to Hoernle. All this leads us to the conclusion that the original disorder of the folios found in Bower Manuscript was a result of casual handling by several hands in initial stages before Hoernle actually undertook its scientific investigation. Also it is believed that damage to two folios of the manuscript was the result of incautious handling by the original Turki finders. Also after each examination the leaves seem to have been bound together again by the string and whether by the same original or any other is even doubtful.

The birch- bark leaves of the Bower Manuscript are of two different sizes. The leaves of Parts I, II, III, IV and VII are larger both in length and breadth than those of Part VI. The former measure approximately twelve inches by three inches and the latter about nine inches by two inches. Besides the size of the leaves, there is another feature that differentiates the two portions of the combined manuscript from each other. The quality of birch-bark used in larger portion is of inferior quality to that of the smaller portion. The former is hard and brittle and therefore prone to breaking if handled roughly while the latter is soft and tough and can easily bent and loop into cylindrical form.

It has been suggested that the large portion of the Bower Manuscript written on birch-bark of inferior quality is owing to the reason that the scribes of the manuscript ,believed to be Kashmiris or inhabitants of Udyana, a territory in North completed the work after they had settled in Kuchar and could not have had access to good quality birch-bark as the same would not have been procurable in Kuchar and hence were obliged to use the old stock of birch-bark which they may have brought originally from Kashmir or Udyana - the famous land of birch-bark. And by the time Part VI of the manuscript came to be written a fresh supply of good birch-bark had been procured.

The total number of leaves of the Bower Manuscript is 51. But it is to be regretted that the more important parts of it namely Parts I to III which deal with medicine are incomplete. Part I consists of just 5 folios and the subject it deals about ends abruptly. Part II is also fragmentary and consists of 33 folios. Part III is also a mere fragment of just 4 folios. Its first folio bears the sacred symbol of OM. The original scribe seems to have left it unfinished as the remaining portion of Part III and subsequently added Part IV are written in different hands. Thus it is assumed that the whole manuscript till Part III at some stage came into the hands of another scribe who wrote Parts V and VII. It is also believed that the scribe who wrote Parts I and III died before he had finished his task and in turn his unfinished work passed on to writers of Parts II, V, and VII. Parts IV and V are two tracts of divination. The former is complete while the latter is incomplete and defective. Part VI of the manuscript deals with the charm against snake- bite and is complete. This portion of the manuscript also commences with the sacred symbol of OM like the one that is found on the first folio of Part III. Part VII also contains a charm against snake-bite and is considerably damaged. The leaves of each part of the manuscript are numbered separately and the numbers are placed on left hand margins of the reverse side of the folios. But margins of Parts IV and V are so bad in shape that it is difficult to say if they ever bore any page numbers. However pagination of Parts I, III and VII are well preserved.

All the seven parts of the Bower Manuscript are written in an essentially similar script though in different hands. The language in which it is written is a kind of mixed Sanskrit comprising both the literary and popular Sanskrit. The script is that which prevailed in North India during the 4th to 6th century. It is now generally termed as Gupta script because its prevalence coincided with the Gupta Kings. The peculiarities found in all parts of the Bower Manuscript show that at least four persons must have been engaged to write it. While Part VI is written calligraphically, Parts V and VII are written in cursive and careless manner. However, it is a curious fact that a name Yasomitra appears in the tracts of both these parts. It is believed that this name must be that of a votary who either wrote the manuscript himself or got it written for himself by a scribe. According to Dr. K. Watanabe, a Japanese scholar, such a tradition was common in olden times in China and Japan. From the styles of letters found in the Bower Manuscript

it has been suggested that scribes of Parts V and VII were natives of the southern areas of North India and the persons who wrote Parts I to III must have belonged to Kashmir or Udyana.

In the Part II of the manuscript one finds the occurrence of some peculiar Sharada forms of letters. It being well known that Sarada originated from the Gupta script in the seventh century. However the Sharada form of letters which are seen in the Bower Manuscript are distinctly similar to the script of the Horiuzi Manuscript. While it is established that Horiuzi Manuscript was written in the first half of the 6th century, it hence goes to prove that this script therefore was the immediate predecessor of the Sharada script.

While the Bower Manuscript is written on birch-bark, the Weber Manuscripts are written on paper. How the divergence of the two materials arose is not known but the difference of the writing materials prove that Bower Manuscript was written on an earlier date than the Weber Manuscripts. It also proves that Bower Manuscript was written by immigrants from North India who had possessed the stock of their birch-bark and the Weber Manuscripts were written by their descendants of native Kuchari converts who naturally made use of paper of their own land. From the analysis of the scripts of the Bower Manuscript and that of the Weber Manuscripts it can be noticed that both the Sharada script which originated from the Gupta script and the Horiuzi script which is an intermediate form between Gupta and Sharada are quite similar to the Kuchari script of the Weber Manuscripts.

It is important to mention here that the Gupta script traveled northwards through Kashmir and Udyana to Kuchar in Eastern Turkestan in the 4th century. In Kashmir it developed through the Horiuzi script (6th century) into the Sharada script (7th century). However, in Kuchar its Horiuzi stage developed into the Kuchari script in the 6th century itself.

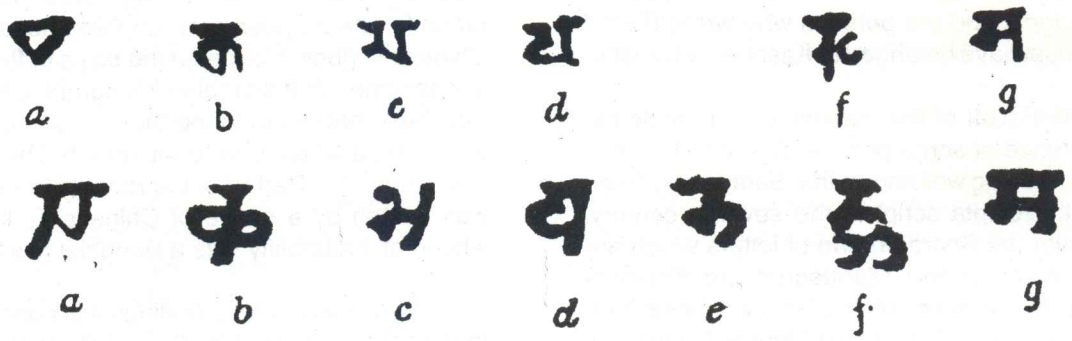
It is well known that stylus or reed pen was the most common instrument used by the scribes of ancient India for the purpose of writing and it has been seen that Parts I to III and V to VII of the Bower Manuscript have been written with it. However, Part IV is written with brush. Use of brush for the purpose of writing was peculiar to Chinese scribes. Hence on the basis of this fact it is assumed that an Indian immigrant to Kucha may have had abandoned the use of reed pen and instead taken to write with brush. Therefore it is certain that Part IV of the Bower Manuscript was written by a native of Chinese Turkestan who in all probability was a Buddhist monk.

On the basis of these findings it is concluded that writers of Parts I to III and Parts V to VII were natives of India who had migrated to Kucha Also the use of birch-bark as the writing material suggests that the scribes would have originally belonged to Kashmir or Udyana. It is also believed that Parts V and VII were written about the same time as Parts I to III. From here these parts passed into the hands of the writer of Part IV who having used brush instead of the usual reed pen to write this part suggests that he belonged to Eastern Turkestan or perhaps China.

From him the Parts I to IV passed into the hands of the writer of Parts V and VII. Part VI was written at a subsequent date by a fourth scribe on a better quality birch-bark which it is believed he received from Kashmir or may have himself obtained from there during one of his journeys to that country.

It has been well established that all the four writers of the Bower Manuscript were residents of Kucha. However, the final owner of the manuscript was one by the name Yasomitra whose name figures in some portions of the collective manuscript. Also the fact that the collective manuscript was contained in the relic chamber of some stupa at Qum Tara, it is believed that the stupa itself would have been built in his honour.

As one surveys the Bower Manuscript it is not infrequent to come across lapses in writing. The most frequent scribal errors are in the nature of miswritten letter or syllable. On many occasions one encounters entirely wrong words. In fact when the Bower Manuscript was exhibited for the first time in 1890 ,it was stated that the manuscript was written entirely in black ink but



Alphabets of Horiuzi and Sharada characters reproduced form:

The Bower Manuscript, A.F.R. Hoernle, ASI, New Imperial Series, 1912. (Original alphabet in Sharada script taken from a birch-bark manuscript presented by M.A. Stein to Rudolf Hoernle in December 1898)

Facsililes of the folios of the Bower Manuscript reproduced from: Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1893.

closer examination of the written folios subsequently revealed that many letters and words were written in light and faint ink as compared to the ink used in the main content of the manuscript. The significance of the use of two inks has been linked to indicate corrections. The portions were words appear in lighter ink suggest that those parts were originally written in black Indian ink by a less qualified scribe and his numerous errors, presumably afterwards, were corrected by a more intelligent user of the manuscript at different times. Yet there are portions were use of both types of ink has been made to make corrections. This situation suggests that sometime the corrections were made in black ink and other times in faint ink when for some reason good black ink may not have been available to the scribe.

It has been found that none of the seven parts of the Bower Manuscript bear any date. Though recovered from Eastern Turkestan, the manuscript is essentially a product of North India . This basis emerges from the fact of the use of birch-bark as the writing material and incidence of the Gupta script in which it is written. It may be appreciated that with very few exceptions all the manuscripts discovered in Eastern Turkestan are written on paper. Those written on birch-bark and discovered in this region are the Bower Manuscript, Dutreuil Rhins Manuscript and a manuscript each discovered by Bartus and Aurel Stein. All these birch-bark manuscripts are believed to have been written by Buddhist pilgrims or immigrants from North India. Most of them were written by them in their original home in Kashmir or Udyana and subsequently brought into their new settlements. However, the Bower Manuscript , believed to be written by four scribes belonging to single generation was written by them in the new settlement but on birch-bark brought by them from their original home. As regards the date of its writing , scientific opinion has placed it about 350-375 A.D. i. e. is the 3rd quarter of the 4th century. However with regard to these facts, it is very important here to mention that never ever letters and documents, official or private written on birch-bark have been discovered anywhere. Though they have been found to be written on wood, leather, silk and other materials but birch-bark is never known to have been used for such non-literary purposes. This curious fact needs more deeper investigation into the question of other early writing materials used in Kashmir before paper was introduced in that place.

As discussed above, the Bower Manuscript consists of seven parts of which Parts I to III are purely medical, Parts IV and V contain two short manuals of cubomancy and Parts VI and VII contain two different portions of a protective charm against snake bite and other evils. However the most important part of the manuscript is the second part called Navanitaka. It is a handbook of prescriptions covering the whole field of internal medicine. The name and identity of the author of Navanitaka are unknown as its colophon, which could have provided this information is, missing. But it has been established that the writing of the work is not the same as that of the writing of the manuscript.

The text of Navanitaka bears copious extracts from ancient medical compendiums, namely the Charaka Samhita and Susrata Samhita. Besides, it also has references quoted from standard works of other well known medical authorities of that era. As is well known to us that amongst the most illustrious medical teachers of ancient India, the name of Punarvasu the son of Atri , ranks the foremost. According to a well known Indian tradition Punarvasu, more commonly known as Atreya was an eminent physician and taught medicine at the university of Taxila during 6th century B.C.

Famous as the head of the medical school, he is reported to have six disciples who wrote down the teachings of their celebrated teacher into large and small medical treatises called the Tantras and Kalpas respectively. Centuries later these Tantras and Kalpas were epitomized as Samhitas of which two, namely: the Charaka Samhita and the Bheda Samhita survived and have come down to us in the present age. The two compendia are based on the Tantras and Kalpas of Agnivesa and Bheda respectively. Of the works of four other pupils of Atreya, namely :Harita, Jatukara, Kesharapani and Parasara nothing has survived. Charaka Samhita which gives the teachings of Atreya as recorded by his pupil Agnivesa was compiled by a Kashmiri physician named Charaka.

According to Hoernle, actually only two-thirds of the compendium (Charaka Samhita) were written by Charaka probably in the 1st century B. C. and the other one-third was added to it by the Kashmiri physician Dridhabala in the 9th century A. D. As regards the compilation of the Bheda Samhita, nothing is known. But the very fact that copious extracts from both these Samhitas have been used in the Navanitaka indicate that these standard books existed in the time of the author of the Navanitaka.

A survey of the Navanitaka reveals that 15 medical formulae appearing in it are actually taken from the Bheda Samhita. This has been confirmed by the discovery of Dr. P. Cordier who traced the references to these in the text from a unique Tanjore Manuscript of the Bheda Samhita. From the Charaka Samhita, 29 formulae have found their way into the Navanitaka. The remaining formulae , however, are believed to have been taken from the Tantras and Kalpas of Atreya's other four pupils, but unfortunately whose writings have not survived. But from the fact that these extracts appear in the Navanitaka text clearly indicate that they still existed when it was compiled. Many formulae are also believed to have been taken from Ayurveda Susrata which is also known by the name of Susrata Samhita.

It has been established that Navanitaka was compiled in 2nd century A. D. This assumption has been conjectured on the basis of the dates of three Samhitas of Charaka, Susrata and Bheda. In fact the age of Navanitaka has only been based on the date of Charaka Samhita alone, as the date of the Bheda Samhita is unknown and that of the Susrata Samhita is "entangled in a net of uncertainty" as says Rudolf Hoernle.

Since it is well known that Charaka was a royal physician in the court of King Kanishka who lived around 1st century B. C. and allowing upper limit to account for occurrence of references from other Samhitas, the Navanitaka has been assigned to 2nd century A. D. Also based on the language used in Navanitaka and the sources from which it is derived indicate that it indeed is a work of 2nd century A. D.

Based on the facts that: Bower Manuscript is the work of scribes from Kashmir ; is entirely written in a script which shows traces of Sarada alphabet in its intermediate form between the Horiuzi script and the fully developed Sarada script and is written on birch-bark, the popular writing material used in Kashmir in early times indicate to its pre-eminent place as the fore-runner to Sarada manuscripts of Kashmir. To add to these circumstances we also know that Navanitaka contains extensive quotations from the Charaka Samhita and therefore is one of peculiar importance in our claim to the Bower Manuscript as the fore-runner to Sarada manuscripts.

To conclude, it may be pertinent to recall that Charaka is said to have left his Samhita unfinished and it was many centuries later that Kalpa Sthana, Siddhi Sthana and many chapters of its Chikitsita Sthana were added to his Samhita by another Kashmiri physician named Dridhabala and that the text of Navanitaka has been mainly compiled from this source ,indicate with greater certainty to the Kashmiri origin of the Bower Manuscript.

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• Facsimiles of the folios of the Bower Manuscript reproduced from:

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1893.

Intellectual Heritage of Kashmiri Pandits

The unique and rare Kashmiri birch-bark manuscript of Rigveda Samhita composed in Sanskrit and written in Sharda script has recently been inscribed in the "Memory of the World" Register by the UNESCO. The manuscript was collected by Georg Buhler during his visit to Kashmir in 1875. It was this particular manuscript which was also used by Max Muller for preparing his edition of the Rigveda and a translation of its famous commentary by Sayana.

ज्ञानं अन्नं

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